# Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY SEOUL

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E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, KS, KN

SUBJECT: KOREA IN 28TH UNGA

REF: A. STATE 162623

B. STATE 182916

C. USUN 3129 (REPEATED SEPTEL)

- 1. FOLLOWING SENT FOR ACTION TO ABU DHABI, AMMAN, BEIRUT, COLOMBO, ISLAMABAD, JIDDA, KATHMANDU, KUWAIT, MANAMA, MUSCAT, NEW DELHI, NICOSIA, SANA'A; ALL OTHER POSTS FOR INFO.
- 2. KOREAN ITEM IN UNGA THIS YEAR IS MAJOR US POLICY CONCERN. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE SUPPLEMENTS REF A, FOCUSSING SPECIFICALLY ON PROVISIONS DRAFT FRIENDLY RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO UN (REF B). POSTS SHOULD UTILIZE THIS MATERIAL AT HIGHEST CONFIDENTIAL

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APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF HOST GOVERNMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS (EXCEPT WHERE REGARDED SELF-DEFEATING) TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM FEASIBLE SUPPORT FOR FRIENDLY DRAFT RESOLUTION AND NEGATIVE VOTE ON HOSTILE RESOLUTION. (SEE ALSO PARA 13 BELOW). ROK

AND OTHER CO-SPONSORS, PARTICULARLY JAPAN AND UK, ARE SIMILARLY ACTIVE AND EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO ASSURE APPROACHES ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING AND TAILORED TO LOCAL SITUATION.

3. OVERALL AIM OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IS TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN KOREA AND TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATIONS

LEADING TO DETENTE BETWEEN ROK AND DPRK. WE SEE OPPOSING RESOLUTION AS DE-STABILIZING AND LEADING TO CONFRONTATION BECAUSE OF ITS HARMFUL EFFECT ON ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENT, ITS SUPPORT OF UNREALISTIC NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON UNIFICATION, AND ITS UNWARRANTED ATTACK ON US TROOP PRESENCE. WE BELIEVE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WITH PEACEFUL EVOLUTION IN KOREAN PENINSULA SHOULD FIND MERIT IN OUR BASIC APPROACH. WE SEEK TO AVOID CONTENTIOUS DEBATE IN UNGA AND OUR RESOLUTION (IN CONTRAST TO THAT OF THE OTHER SIDE) DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE SOLUTION ON EITHER PARTY.

- 4. OPERATIVE PARA 1 WELCOMES NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE TO EASE TENSION AND PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACEFUL UNIFICATION. AS SECRETARY TOLD UNGA SEPTEMBER 24, "NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA ARE AT LAST ENGAGED IN A DIALOGUE WHICH WE HOPE WILL LEAD TO A NEW ERA OF PEACE AND SECURITY."
- 5. UNCURK. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 OF FRIENDLY RES CONFIRMS UNCURK RECOMMENDATION OF OWN DISSOLUTION AND AS SUCH CONSTITUTES GESTURE TO DPRK AS WELL AS ACKNOWLEDGMENT TWO KOREAS THEMSELVES BEST QUALIFIED TO PURSUE PEACEFUL RE-UNIFICATION OF KOREA. ("HOSTILE" RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY ALGERIA AND OTHERS ALSO CALLS FOR DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK, SO THIS INVOLVES NO REAL ISSUE).
- 6. CONCURRENT MEMBERSHIP. COSPONSORS HAVE CAREFULLY TAILORED FRIENDLY RESOLUTION TO MEET OBJECTIONS THAT UNGA MUST NOT FOIST UN MEMBERSHIP UPON AN UNWILLING DPRK. OPERATIVE PARA 3 THUS ONLY "EXPRESSES HOPE" TWO KOREAS WILL CONFIDENTIAL.

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"CONSIDER MEMBERSHIP" AS MEANS OF FURTHERING PEACE AND THUS EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION. RESOLUTION DOES NOT INSIST UPON MEMBERSHIP, AND US HAS NO INTENTION OF PRESSING ISSUE IN SECURITY COUNCIL AT PRESENT TIME. AS WITH UN ENTRY OF FRG AND GDR, FRIENDLY RESOLUTION RECOGNIZES REALITIES THAT PEACEFUL UNIFICATION UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS IS UNLIKELY AND NO ALTERNATIVE FOR PRESENT BUT CONTINUATION TWO KOREAS, AND OFFERS BENEFITS TO BOTH SIDES. SECRETARY SUMMARIZED US VIEW TO UNGA SEPTEMBER 24 SAYING "THE EXCLUSION OF ANY QUALIFIED STATE DENIES REPRESENTATION NOT ONLY TO GOVERNMENTS, BUT TO PEOPLES. MEMBERSHIP IN THIS BODY SHOULD BE A STEP TOWARD RECONCILIATION, NOT A SOURCE OF CONFLICT. THE TIME HAS COME FOR NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA TO BE OFFERED

THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACES HERE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO A FUTURE EVOLUTION TOWARD UNIFICATION."

7. US REGRETS APPARENT DPRK OPPOSITION TO UN MEMBERSHIP.
WE STILL HOPE THAT IN SPIRIT OF UNIVERSALITY -- AND GIVEN
PREVIOUS NORTH KOREAN ATTEMPTS TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL
RECOGNITION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AND

ADMISSION TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -- DPRK WILL COME TO VIEW UN ADMISSION FAVORABLY. WHERE APPROPRIATE, YOU MAY NOTE INCONSISTENCY OF DPRK POSITION SEEKING ADMISSION TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, I.E., WHO, WHILE OPPOSING ADMISSION TO UN. ALTHOUGH MOST RECENTLY DPRK TAKES POSITION THAT ONLY UNIFIED KOREA SHOULD BE ADMITTED, APPLICATIONS OF ROK AND DPRK HAVE BEEN BEFORE UNSC SINCE LATE 1940S. ADMISSION OF TWO KOREAN STATES WOULD IN OUR VIEW PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY BY BRINGING THEM WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN CHARTER OBLIGATIONS AND THEREBY ENHANCING SECURITY OF EACH VIS-A-VIS THE OTHER. IT SHOULD BE CLEAR FROM TEXT OF RESOLUTION AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF COSPONSORS THAT ADMISSION NEED NOT PREJUDICE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREAS WHICH REMAINS QUESTION FOR BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

8. UN COMMAND. BECAUSE OF WORLD-WIDE IMPLICATIONS OF ANY CONFLICT ON KOREAN PENINSULA, SECURITY ALONG THE DE-MILITARIZED ZONE IS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO EVERY MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HOWEVER FAR IT MAY BE GEOGRAPHICALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM KOREA. PREMATURE OR PRECIPITOUS MOVE BY UNGA AGAINST UNC IN ABSENCE AGREED ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS COULD IMPAIR VALIDITY OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT (WHICH ESTABLISHED DE-MILITARIZED ZONE) AND ENHANCE RISK OF RENEWED CONFLICT INSOFAR AS AGGRESSION MIGHT BE DEPICTED AS INTERNAL CON-FLICT OUTSIDE SCOPE OF UN. ACCORDINGLY, WE BELIEVE GA SHOULD NOT ADDRESS DISSOLUTION OF UNC UNTIL ALTERNATE ARRANGEMENTS EXIST WHICH MIGHT BE WORKED OUT BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE ROK AND DPRK (WHICH SO FAR HAS SHOWN NO WILLINGNESS TO DO SO). OPERATIVE PARA 4 OF FRIENDLY RES IS CAREFULLY STRUCTURED TO INDICATE NEED TO MAINTAIN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN AREA, WHILE SIGNALLING WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS (WITHOUT HOWEVER INTRODUCING POSSIBLY CON-TENTIOUS SPECIFICS WHICH COULD BE MORE APPROPRIATELY DIS-CUSSED AMONG THE PARTIES CONCERNED).

9. POSTS SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT OPERATIVE PARA 4 IS CLEAR INDICATION OF ROK, AND US, WILLINGNESS TO LOOK CONSTRUCTIVELY TO FUTURE, AND DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE DIGGING OURSELVES INTO RIGID POSITION IN FAVOR OF PERPETUATION OF UNC. WE RECOGNIZE TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THERE MUST BE

READJUSTMENTS IN UN PRESENCE IN KOREA, BUT BELIEVE SUCH READJUSTMENTS MUST NOT BE IMPOSED AND MUST COME THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND IN MANNER THAT WILL NOT DESTABILIZE SITUATION

10. ALTHOUGH HOSTILE RESOLUTION SEEKS TO CONNECT UNCURK AND UNC WITH PRESENCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA,

LATTER IS COMPLETELY SEPARATE QUESTION AND IN OUR VIEW INAPPROPRIATE FOR UNGA RESOLUTION. CONTINUED PRESENCE OF US TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA IS BILATERAL MATTER BETWEEN ROK AND US. RIGHT OF A COUNTRY TO INVITE FOREIGN TROOPS FOR PURPOSE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IS IMPLICIT IN ARTICLE 51 OF UN CHARTER. MOREOVER, WHEN US TROOPS WITH-DRAW FROM ROK THEY MOVE THOUSANDS OF MILES, WHEREAS TROOPS OF DPRK'S SUPPORTERS ARE ON ITS BORDERS. BOTH FAIRNESS AND RESPECT FOR CHARTER THUS DICTATE THAT UNGA NOT ATTEMPT TO TAMPER WITH SUCH BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

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- 11. POSTS AT THEIR DISCRETION MAY NOTE THAT RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT ALGIERS CONFERENCE ON KOREA IS POINT FOR POINT INSTANT REPLAY OF NORTH KOREAN POSITION AND HARDLY DESERVES CHARACTERIZATION AS NON-ALIGNED. (ALGIERS RES, AS DOES HOSTILE UNGA RES, PARROTS NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON ADMISSION OF CONFEDERATED KOREAN STATE TO UN, OPPOSITION TO ADMISSION TWO KOREAN STATES, WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES STATIONED UNDER UN FLAG, AND DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK.) SOME AFRICAN AND ARAB STATES APPEAR ATTRACTED TO SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED POSITION AND THIS TENDENCY OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US. THIS CONNECTION BELIEVE IT SIGNIFICANT THAT ASIDE FROM PRC AND MONGOLIA, NO EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES HAVE COSPONSORED HOSTILE RESOLUTION IN UNGA.
- 12. FIRST COMMITTEE DEBATE ON KOREAN ITEM UNLIKELY TO BEGIN BEFORE MID-NOVEMBER, BUT COULD OCCUR SOONER. DEPT NEEDS EARLIEST POSSIBLE INDICATION OF HOST GOVT VOTE IN ORDER REFINE OUR APPROACH AND TACTICS FOR UNGA DEBATE. SHOULD BE NOTED THAT SHIFT FROM NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO ABSTENTION COULD BE AS VALUABLE TO US AS SHIFT OF FENCESITTERS TO POSITIVE COLUMN. IN MAKING REPRESENTA-TIONS, POSTS SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY ALERT TO REASONS HOST GOVT MAY GIVE FOR HESITATING TO SUPPORT OPERATIVE PARA-GRAPH OF FRIENDLY RES, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH KOREAN UN MEMBERSHIP OR UN COMMAND. SUBJECT TO REGIONAL COMMENTS BELOW, WE LEAVE TO POST'S DISCRETION HOW US VIEWS CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION HOST GOVT AND HOW THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR OBJECTIVES AND SUPPORT FOR DRAFT RESOLUTION (AND NEGATIVE VOTE ON HOSTILE RES) CAN BEST BE PROMOTED. USUN WILL BE REPORTING ITS CONTACTS WITH INDIVIDUAL UN DELEGATIONS AND

MAY IN SOME INSTANCES RECOMMEND SPECIFIC FOLLOW-UP ACTION IN CAPITALS. POSTS MAY ACT ON SUCH REQUESTS AT THEIR DISCRETION WITHOUT FURTHER REFERENCE TO DEPT. REPORT ALL ACTION TAKEN TO DEPT. INFO SEOUL AND USUN.

13. NEA COSPONSORS OF HOSTILE (PRO NORTH KOREAN) RES ARE ALGERIA, DEM. YEMEN, EGYPT, IRAQ, SYRIA, YEMEN. NO NEA

COUNTRIES COSPONSOR FRIENDLY RES BUT WE ESTIMATE SUPPORT FROM GREECE, TURKEY, IRAN, QATAR, AND ISRAEL. OTHER NEA CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNTRIES MAY ABSTAIN ON FRIENDLY RES BUT COULD VOTE FOR HOSTILE RES. WE RECOGNIZE UPHILL FIGHT TO SECURE IMPROVEMENTS IN VOTE AMONG ARAB GOVTS (EITHER FOR OUR RES OR TO OPPOSE HOSTILE RES) BUT FURTHER APPROACHES MAY HELP AT LEAST HOLD THEM TO ABSTENTIONS ON BOTH RESES. WE ALSO SEEKING FURTHER APPROACHES BY JAPANESE (ESPECIALLY IN GULF) AND UK. EMBASSIES IN ARAB CAPITALS MAY DEFER APPROACH TO HOST GOVTS IF JAPANESE OR UK ARE ALSO MAKING DEMARCHE WHICH YOU BELIEVE TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE LOCALLY.

14. WE ALSO NOTE JAPANESE REPORT (USUN 3337) INDIANS WILL ABSTAIN ON BOTH RESES; REQUEST EMBASSY DELHI CONFIRM WITH MOFA. WE HOPEFUL BHUTAN AND POSSIBLY NEPAL, SRI LANKA, AND MALDIVES (WHO WILL PROBABLY NOT ATTEND) WOULD FOLLOW INDIAN LEAD. PAKISTAN ON BASIS PAST FORM WOULD OPPOSE FRIENDLY RES BUT FYI WE HAVE REASON BELIEVE GOP MAY ABSTAIN END FYI. EMBASSY ISLAMABAD SHOULD SEEK LOW-KEY CONFIRMATION OF PAK VIEW, PARTICULARLY WHETHER PAKS WOULD ALSO ABSTAIN ON HOSTILE RES.

INFO ADDRESSEES MAY INITIATE DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT WHENEVER DEEMED USEFUL. RUSH

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To: ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS INFO USUN N Y SEOUL

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